Special Report from Santo Domingo

How Latin America's Bloodiest Dictator Laid the Foundation for A Socialist State

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A Peaceful Challenge to Castroism

Just east of Cuba in the incomparably blue Caribbean lies the island of Hispaniola. Its western one-third, just across the Windward Passage from Cuba, is occupied by Haiti; its eastern two-thirds by the Dominican Republic, barely half the size of Cuba in area and population. It is there that a real answer to Castroism may be given. I have just spent a week in its capital, Santo Domingo, oldest city in the New World, where its first democratic government in more than 30 years has now been inaugurated under President Juan Bosch.

Competitive Co-Existence

The Dominican Republic has known only two short periods of free government in its history, both in this century, the more recent in 1924-29. From 1930 until his assassination in May, 1961, it was ruled by one of the cruelest and greediest dictators Latin America has known, and the world's oldest, antedating Salazar's in Portugal by two years. By the time he was killed, he had obtained control of two-thirds to three-fourths of the Republic's sugar mills and its industries. Its best pastures and farm lands, about 10 percent of the productive area of the country, had been vested in the Trujillos. If Stalin built socialism in one country, Trujillo in a sense built it in one family. With the flight of his heirs and retainers, the Dominican Republic found itself the owner of a major part of the country's productive facilities. No other government in Latin America is in so fortunate a position. It can plan its economy and push agrarian reform without the need at the very outset to expropriate private holdings, foreign or domestic. The circumstances were never more propitious for an experiment in democratic socialist development, without terror, class war or dictatorship. Here, if anywhere, the Alliance for Progress and the Kennedy Administration may provide a democratic answer to Castroism. If Cuba is to be a showcase of Communism, the Dominican Republic can be a showcase of democratic socialism. Bosch's inauguration on February 27 was also, in this sense, the inauguration of a competition in the Caribbean.

The Kennedy Administration seems to be fully aware of the opportunity and the challenge. Santo Domingo's two luxury hotels, the Embajador and the Jaragua, are full of American experts. A small army of Americans, volunteer and official, have invaded the island. I caught a glimpse of Mr. Justice Douglas, an old friend of President Bosch's, who had been invited to advise the Constituent Assembly now writing the Republic's new Constitution. The Dominicans have a passion for Constitutions; this will be their 24th since 1821, a record equalled only by Venezuela in a hemisphere where the number of constitutions seems to be in inverse ratio to the amount of constitutional government. The veranda of the luxurious Embajador is full of Americans, military advisers, banking experts, special emissaries of the White House, military men training the army, and no doubt a full contingent of CIA and FBI men. A favorite joke is that the telephone book of the American Embassy is thicker than that of the capital city. There must be close to 500 Americans in the Republic, and I must say that from the Ambassador down they seem a much more sympathetic and intelligent crowd than is usually marshalled by our foreign service. The Ambassador, John Bartlow Martin, a *Saturday Evening Post* writer and a first rate journalist, who published the first exposé of Trujillo in an American magazine back in 1938, is no conventional diplomat. He and his wife are very *simpatico*. They seem to have an excellent staff around them. In his first speech a year ago the Ambassador could say, "when I speak of the danger from the left, I am not talking about reformers, or liberals, or even non-Soviet Marxists. I am talking about men who take orders from Moscow or Peking or Havana. . . ." That reference to "non-Soviet Marxists" must represent a high water mark in daring sophistication for the U.S. foreign service.

Yet a certain wariness exists between the U.S. Embassy and the new Bosch regime, like that of a blushing bride who knows too much about her aged Lothario bridegroom to trust his apparent change of heart. The record of the U.S. in the Dominican Republic inspires as little confidence as did our record in Cuba. No Latin dictator had warmer U.S. support than Trujillo. The Truman Administration courted

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Underdeveloped North Americans

Fresh from a Latin country, I find the report of the Clay committee on foreign aid appalling. It is not just its cold banker fish-eye. Its reliance on free enterprise and on the possessing classes in Latin America for development is nonsense. The landowning class has no interest in an industrial development which would sop up its cheap labor supply; the business men are mostly importers whose profitable symbiosis with U.S. capitalism would be disturbed by native industries. Worst of all: nowhere in the report is agrarian reform, the sine qua non of Latin development, even mentioned. George Meany, in his dissenting opinion, accepts this stress on private enterprise and also makes no mention of agrarian reform! This contrasts with the latest report of the Inter-American Development Bank which is several degrees left of the Clay committee and Meany. It says the domestic Latin market cannot be developed without agrarian reform. That Americans like Clay and Meany do not understand this will make Latins despair.

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him, Eastland praised him in a speech to his puppet Congress, Smathers and Speaker McCormack were his friends, Cardinal Spellman blessed him at his Congress of Catholic Culture in 1956; Standard Oil (NJ), Alcoa and Pan Am were in his claque. All this during the years when he murdered and robbed his people. When Castro and Betancourt jointly supported an invasion to overthrow Trujillo in June, 1959, and a few of the patriots escaped to the hills, the U.S. threw a naval cordon around the island to prevent reinforcements from reaching the Trujillo forces. It is true that Trujillo's downfall seems to have been the result of U.S. policy—he was the victim of a deal with Betancourt, in which we opposed the Dominican dictator after he tried to kill the Venezuelan leader, in return for Betancourt's aid against Castro.

But after Trujillo was killed, our first response was to support what looked like Trujilloism without Trujillo: the regime established by his retainer, Balaguer, and his son, Ramfis. When popular revulsion made this politically impossible, we shifted grounds, prevented a Trujillo restoration rather than see a revolution, and insisted on the free elections which brought Bosch to power. But few Dominicans can feel sure we may not again support a military strong man. Korean experience is only the latest reminder of what Latins know so well—how easily we reconcile ourselves to military dictatorships.

Bosch Dares Challenge Esso

Bosch's first steps in power seem designed to disengage himself from Washington. His speech February 19 on returning from his trip to the U.S. and Europe emphasized the latter rather than the former as the source of new development contracts. Indeed several days later Angel Miolan, the head of Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) said Bosch "got four times as much in practical results"—in the shape of credits and technical aid—during his month long tour in Western Europe as he did in his visit to the U.S. Soon after the inauguration Bosch announced the signing of a 15-year $150,000,000 agreement with a Swiss consortium (including the Bank of America) to build two dams for irrigation and hydroelectric power, and for an aqueduct to supply fresh water to the capital. Bosch admitted he might have had better terms and lower interest rates if he had financed the projects from international organizations but argued that it would take a year or two for those banks to make preliminary studies and come to decisions and that work was needed urgently to cope with unemployment and hunger. But one wonders whether another motive in dealing with this international consortium was not to lessen his dependence on Washington, which plays the major role in such international institutions as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Bosch also touched a tender nerve when he complained that the Council of State which ruled the country before the elections had secretly concluded a contract with Standard Oil for a refinery on terms unfavorable to the Dominican Republic. Bosch said he had received better offers in Europe and had warned Standard Oil that the contract would be reviewed as soon as he took office. Bosch said he did so although he knew "my attitude would be used in spreading throughout the world the report that I am hostile to foreign private investments in this country, that I am a Communist, that I am a Fidelista, or that I am something else still more radical." The President elect's prediction proved correct. Though little has appeared in the U.S. press about the Standard Oil contract, a campaign to picture Bosch as somehow linked to Communists has already begun, though he and his entourage are—like most Socialists elsewhere—passionately anti-Communist and anti-Castro.

But Bosch and his group do not wish to jeopardize their chances for a moderate and peaceful social reform by polarizing Dominican politics between Left and Right. They see the necessity for private capital in Dominican development—the country, like Cuba, is short of technicians and has no domestic source of capital and capital goods. Castro got his from the Soviet bloc. They must obtain theirs from the West. A revolutionary solution for the Republic's problems is politically impossible; the U.S. would reply with an instant blockade, the Russians are in no position to take on another Cuba; the Chinese could only supply inflammatory pamphlets. The Bosch group would not turn East even if they could—they are far more deeply and philosophically anti-totalitarian than their detractors; one of them is a graduate of a Communist as well as a Nazi concentration camp. But they hope to avoid the dangers of reliance on private capital by diversifying their sources, by reducing dependence on the U.S. and particularly by avoiding the appearance of being simply a U.S. satellite.

I gather that there are politically sophisticated American officials who realize that the real U.S. interest in the Domini-

A Caribbean Tito

Fidel Castro's sensational interview with Claude Julien in Le Monde (Paris) March 22 and 23 will not come entirely as a surprise to our readers. For in the third and final installment describing our own trip to Cuba (Jan. 21 issue) we pointed out that Castro in his speech of January 3 had contradicted Khrushchev's account of why he put missiles in Cuba. Khrushchev said he did so only to help Cuba. Castro said then, as he told M. Julien, that he was persuaded to take the missiles in order to correct the Soviet "missile gap" as compared with the U.S. Nor will our readers be surprised that Fidel sneered at the satellite states for their subservience to Moscow, notably on such questions as abstract art. "Our adversaries," Fidel said, "are capitalism and imperialism, not abstract art." Fidel said he was so angry with Khrushchev at the time of the missile crisis that he would have "boxed his ears" if he came to Cuba. Though Castro denied he had said anything "unfriendly" to Khrushchev, and indeed in this interview expressed gratitude for his aid, he did not directly deny this quotation. Castro also differed with the Chinese and insisted that the U.S. was no "paper tiger." The interview deepens our feeling that Castro is as naturally independent as Tito, and that a flexible U.S. policy could still wean him from the Soviet bloc, to a neutral position.

Little Progress in the Alianza So Far For Latin Workers or Peasants

"Mexico City—(AP)—Labor leaders from 11 Latin American countries say workers are being denied the benefits they expected from the Alliance for Progress. In a declaration signed here they demanded that no Alliance for Progress funds be granted to unstable governments which may decide to 'divert them to other ends.' . . . As one delegate put it, 'the working class has been completely disregarded in the plans of the Alliance.'

—Miami Herald, March 15.

"During 1960-61, according to FAO, Latin American food agricultural production declined approximately 2% and food production dropped below that of the previous year when there had also been declines relative to the prior year. There are no statistics showing any appreciable improvement in rural income levels; indications are to the contrary, showing that as a result of economic and demographic factors most campesinos are now in a worse plight than they were a few years ago. . . ."

—Social Progress Trust Fund (Alliance for Progress) Inter-American Development Bank, 2d annual report, Mar. 14.

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can Republic is not to have Juan Bosch salute the anti-Communist flag every few days in response to attacks in the *Chicago Tribune*, but simply to make a success of his program. If this is done in part with European capital all the better. The U.S. does not need another satellite. It needs a demonstration in Latin America that peaceful reform is possible, and that U.S. aid can be obtained without a demeaning subordination. But whether this magnanimous spirit can survive the more conventional views in Congress, the press and much of the foreign service remains to be seen. The American community felt chilled when Bosch in his inaugural speech failed to praise the Alliance for Progress or to make an attack on Castroism, the two current hallmarks of loyalty to the U.S. party line. But neither would have been politically wise.

The Church's Red Scare Failed

The Alliance for Progress has been oversold to its own detriment, and is now being widely attacked for failure to undo, in two years, four and a half centuries of exploitation, misery and ignorance. It would be a rather mangy flag to unfurl at the start of a new and hopeful Latin administration. Within a fortnight of Bosch's inaugural moderate labor leaders from 11 Latin countries complained in Mexico City that labor was being denied its benefits and the Bank for Inter-American Development reported that the peasants were worse off than before. The oligarchy is still hoping by exploiting U.S. obsessions about Castroism and Communism to divert the Alliance into another global handout of dollars they can salt away abroad. Bosch resisted pressure to make an attack on Castroism because he feared it would split the country between right and left on an extraneous issue, and make him a prisoner of the right and the Army. Bosch defeated the Union Civica Nacional, the party of the conservative oligarchy, two-to-one; a last minute attempt by the Church to smear him as a Red redounded in his favor with both the middle class and the workers; he won more than 60 percent of the votes.

The campaign can best be understood in Roman terms. Trujillo was not a modern totalitarian dictator, though his control was total; even a social club could not be formed without making El Benefactor its honorary president. Trujillo was like one of the Caesars in the degenerate days described by Tacitus. His power rested on a pampered Army, and a network of informers. He was all but deified, and he hated particularly the old oligarchy which looked down its nose on him as a mixed-blood. The Union Civica Nacional was a patrician republican oligarchic opposition, again like its Roman counterparts. Its candidates for President and Vice President, Fiallo and Baquero, were men of integrity.

One Way to 'Manage' News

"And finally the case of the great newspaper chain which printed stories that Russian planes had overflown the southeastern United States, stories which were absolutely and completely untrue. The Defense Dept. said they were untrue, the White House said they were untrue, the Chief of the US Air Force said they were untrue, the Chief of the Continental Air Command said they were untrue. Yet it is more than two months since I talked to the editor of these newspapers who adamantly refused to back down on his story. I offered to have any top official of the government he chose—including the President of the United States—call him personally and tell him the facts, if he would admit that his newspapers were wrong. I am still awaiting the answer to that proposal.

"That is 'news management' in its purest form."

—White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger to the Women's National Press Club March 22.

They managed, perhaps because they were physicians, to walk through the valley of the shadow and earn their bread without ever collaborating with the dictatorship. Their clean record was an affront to weaker folk, who had to knuckle under.

At the same time Fiallo and Baquero had only the vaguest slogans as substitute for a program with appeal to the plebeian masses who were really outside their aristocratic field of vision. They alienated part of the middle class by emphasizing a fierce de-trujillo-ization; Fiallo even visited Germany to study de-Nazification there. But Hitler had an enthusiastic following, a party, a philosophy. Trujillo's one party was built only on fear. Except for a small circle of murderers and grafters, he had no base. Almost everybody at one time or another had to bend his neck before the dictator. Bosch campaigned for national reconciliation; he pledged himself to root out Trujilloism in the economic and social sphere, not to stage a giant purge. This won him friends on the moderate right and in the centre while his promise to restore democratic liberties, his idealism, his magnetic eloquence, his gift for parable (he is a talented writer) and his program made it impossible for the badly splintered Left to put a candidate in the field against him even if it had been able to do so.

There are two Moscow-oriented tiny Communist parties, both with their base among well-to-do intellectuals, and re-

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The NAACP Wins A Precarious Victory Against Witch Hunts in the South

The Supreme Court last Monday 5-to-4 reversed the contempt conviction of a Florida NAACP official for refusing to bring the membership rolls with him to a legislative committee investigating Communist infiltration. The two Kennedy appointees turned up on opposite sides; Mr. Justice Goldberg wrote the majority decision while Mr. Justice White joined Harlan, Clark and Stewart in dissenting. The new ruling continued the see-saw battle of the Court since Barenblatt overruled Watkins and gave the green light to use of the legislative pillory wherever the presence of Communists or other "subversives" is suspected. Mr. Justice Goldberg's tortuous reasoning tried to reconcile these two conflicting opinions and held that an avowedly anti-Communist organization like the NAACP cannot be put into the pillory unless some firm basis is laid for believing it infiltrated. This weak ruling opened itself to Mr. Justice Harlan's rejoinder that it "requires an investigating agency to prove in advance the very things it is trying to find out." Considering the political power of the Negro and the obvious danger that his organizations in the South can be destroyed by Red hunts, it is disturbing that the balance in his favor on the court is so precarious.

Black and Douglas concurring took their stand on firmer grounds. Black said the investigation abridged the First Amendment right of association. He said this includes the right "to associate with Communists or anti-Communists, Socialists or anti-Socialists, or, for that matter, with people of all kinds of beliefs, popular or unpopular." Douglas, in an eloquent opinion said "The views a citizen entertains, the beliefs he harbors, the utterances he makes, the ideology he embraces and the people he associates with are no concern of government. That article of faith marks the main difference between the Free Society which we espouse and the dictatorships both on the Left and on the Right. . . . Where government is the Big Brother, privacy gives way to surveillance. But our commitment is otherwise. By the First Amendment we have staked our security on freedom to promote a multiplicity of ideas, to associate at will with kindred spirits, and to defy governmental intrusion into these precincts." But this, the traditional American philosophy, is a minority view on our highest court. This is what the Communist bogey has done to us.

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Bosch's Strategy Not So Different From Kennedy's at Costa Rica

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ferred to disparagingly by the more fiery student leaders as "the party of peace." They were illegalized under the Council of State, as was the Fidelista MPD whose base, also miniscule, is among the *lumpenproletariat* in the terrible shanty towns which ring that side of Santa Domingo which faces away from its dulcet ocean breezes. It is tainted by the fact that at least one of its leaders was "imported" by Trujillo in his latter days to frighten the U.S. with the spectre of a deal with Castroism. The legal moderate left, the June 14 movement, named for the unsuccessful landings in 1959, is split between a more and a less Fidelista wing. The entire Left and part of Bosch's own just-to-left-of-centre party would be antagonized by an attack on Castro. If this hot issue is left alone, then Bosch can hold the support of the moderate left. Success for his program would isolate the extremists. This is not so different from the strategy Kennedy himself seems to have been pursuing. He utilized the Betancourt visit and the San Jose conference to emphasize the need for domestic reform and sidestep the demand for military action against Castro. As one intelligent law student told me, "If we have to choose between Union Civica (the right) and the PSP (the orthodox Communists), we'll go with the PSP. If we have a chance to choose between Bosch (democratic *reform*) and Fidel (*revolutionary action*), we'll choose Bosch." The U.S. had better choose him, too.

Social Christian Demogogues

But Bosch is up against a redoubtable foe. While the Union Civica has been demoralized by his landslide, the party which finished a poor third, the Partido Social Christiano, is out to destroy him. As a Catholic party, it has strong U.S. connections. In the trade unions and in the university, it out-demagogues the most demagogic elements of the left; the Social Christians have already pulled one short lived minority strike in publicly owned sugar mills where wages have doubled since Trujillo fell. The Social Christians are playing on the Communist phobia of the U.S. press and the native oligarchy. It has already spread reports which the Venezuelan government has formally denied that on the eve of the inaugural Bosch refused to join in an anti-Castro declaration with Betancourt, Orlich of Costa Rica and Villeda Morales of Honduras. In a speech of March 19, Bosch nailed this as a lie and also claimed that the Social Christians had the aid of "a great number of Cuban exiles in the United States, particularly in Miami, people who have little to do but write for little papers and for radio stations—to portray us as Communists."

Free elections and the hopes aroused by Bosch have exercised a beneficent influence in the Dominican Republic. But under the surface, should he fail, are volcanic forces. Slow hunger walks the streets; every person with a job supports a horde of cousins from the country. The villas on the ocean side of town are almost as luxurious as Miami; the shanty-town on the other side breeds disease and despair. In Bosch's speeches there breathes a moving love for his people and a deep devotion. The cynical oligarchy easily ignores the verdict of the election and has already picked its candidate for a new military dictatorship. In the coffee houses, among the students, one find a promising generation; intelligence and idealism shine in their brown faces, they are eager to learn. Given ten years of peace and education, and this rich little island republic will have its own technicians and engineers and can really be the master of its destiny. We can earn their gratitude or deserve their contempt.

How Do You Say 'Free World' In Korean?

"Seoul, Korea, March 23 — (AP) — Anti-government demonstrations, without precedent in two years of military rule, broke out in five cities yesterday despite a show of force from strongman Gen. Chung Hi Park. But an array of 150 admirals and generals, some summoned from units at least theoretically under U.S. control, assembled in Seoul and vowed support of Park and military rule. . . .

"A wave is disappointment swept the anti-military movement when it was learned that President Kennedy, at his press conference Thursday, did not publicly press Park to honor the promise he has made repeatedly to relinquish power to civilians this year. Mr. Kennedy said the U.S. is closely following 'present discussions about the return of democratic government in South Korea,' prompting one anti-military observer to observe, 'What he means is, fight it out among ourselves'."

—Washington Post, March 23.

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